

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4600

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: REVISED IS DRAFT OF SECTIONS IV AND V

AS NOTED SEPTELS, NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS NOW CIRCULATED REVISED DRAFT TEXT OF SECTIONS IV AND V UNDER CONTROL NUMBER ISD/54. TEXT INCORPORATES PROPOSED CHANGES AND BRACKETED ALTERNATIVES (ALL AD REF TO CAPITALS) WHICH RESULTED FROM SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS OF SEPTEMBER 27-28. PARAGRAPH NUMBERING NOW ADJUSTED TO FOLLOW NUMBERING OF NEW TEXT OF SECTIONS I-III AS TRANSMITTED USNATO 4551. BEGIN TEXT:

IV. NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES

INTRODUCTION

56. THIS SECTION DESCRIBES THE PROCEDURES WHICH THE ALLIES PREFER WITH REGARD TO THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST ON MBFR. IT IS FOR THIS INTERNAL USE OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND NEGOTIATORS AND IS NOT INTENDED TO BE COMMUNICATED AS SUCH TO THE EAST.

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OBJECTIVE

57. NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES SHOULD BE SOUGHT WHICH CAN MOST EFFICIENTLY ACHIEVE THE SUBSTANTIVE ALLIED OBJECTIVES SET

FORTH IN PRECEDING SECTIONS OF THIS PAPER.

PROCEDURES FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST

58. PROCEDURES FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL IN GENERAL BE AS SET FORTH IN THE RECORD OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE EXPLORATORY TALKS OF MAY 14, 1975, SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL NORMALLY CHOOSE AMONG THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVES:

(I) PLENARY MEETINGS

(A) PLENARY MEETINGS CONSTITUTE THE FORUM PAR EXCELLENCE WHERE ALL PARTICIPANTS CAN EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. SUBJECT TO THE REQUIREMENT DEFINED IN PARAGRAPH 57 ABOVE, PLENARY MEETINGS SHOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL FORUM FOR EAST-WEST DISCUSSION ON MBFR.

(B) WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD SEEK EASTERN AGREEMENT (I) THAT AS A MATTER OF CUSTOMARY PRACTICE (IN ADDITION TO THE ESTABLISHED RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO CONVENE PLENARIES). PLENARY MEETINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT REGULAR AND FREQUENT INTERVALS, E. G. ONCE EVERY TWO WEEKS DURING ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, IF POSSIBLE ON A SPECIFIED DAY. IT IS UNDERSTOOD WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES WILL REQUEST AN EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING (WHENEVER ANY FOUR ALLIED PARTICIPANTS PROPOSE) (WHENEVER AN ALLY FOR OVER-RIDING REASONS PROPOSES) SUCH A REQUEST IN THE AD HOC GROUP. (IN VIEW OF THE KNOWN RESISTENCE OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO THE PRINCIPLES OF BLOC-TO-BLOC NEGOTIATIONS, IT APPEARS INADVISABLE TO SEEK AMENDMENTS OF THE AGREED PROCEDURES TO SPECIFICALLY PROVIDE FOR CONVENING AN EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING AT THE REQUEST OF ONE OF THE TWO ALLIANCES;
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THIS IS IN PRACTICE ALREADY ASSUMED; AND (II) THAT WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED BY DECISIONS OF PLENARY MEETINGS AND REPORT ON THE RESULT OF THEIR DELIBERATIONS IN PLENARY MEETINGS.

(II) WORKING GROUPS

WORKING GROUPS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 28, 1973, MAY WELL PROVE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATING INSTRUMENT. THESE WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE OPEN-ENDED, WITH EACH PARTICIPATING COUNTRY ABLE TO ATTEND OR NOT ACCORDING TO THE INTEREST WHICH IT ATTACHES TO THE QUESTION UNDER DISCUSSION, SO THAT MEMBERSHIP IN WORKING GROUPS MIGHT VARY. POSSIBLE EASTERN PROPOSALS TO CONSTITUTE A WORKING GROUP

WITH MEMBERSHIP RESTRICTED TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS
SHOULD BE REJECTED.

(III) EMISSARIES

IT WILL AT TIMES BE APPROPRIATE TO USE THE TECHNIQUE
OF EMISSARIES. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL DECIDE WHEN TO
EMPLOY EMISSARIES, THEIR NUMBER AND IDENTITY, AND
THEIR MANDATE; EMISSARIES WILL REPORT TO THE
AD HOC GROUP.

(IV) INFORMAL CONTACTS

DURING THE EXPLORATORY TALKS, MEMBER OF
ALLIED DELEGATIONS WILL BE ENTERING INTO DISCUSSION
WITH EASTERN DELEGATIONS IN BILATERAL AND MULTI-
LATERAL MEETINGS AND DURING SOCIAL GATHERINGS. IT
IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE THAT, AS IN THE
EXPLORATORY TALKS, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ADHERE TO
AGREED ALLIED POSITIONS ON THESE OCCASIONS AND
REPORT AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE AD HOC GROUP ANY
SIGNIFICANT POINTS WHICH MAY ARISE FROM SUCH TALKS.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROCEDURE

59. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL DETERMINE WHAT ARRANGEMENTS
WITH THE EAST CONCERNING PUBLIC AFFAIRS TREATMENT OF MBFR
SHOULD BE SOUGHT PRIOR TO AND/OR DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

INDIVIDUAL EASTERN COUNTRIES

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60. INTERNAL EASTERN CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS ARE LIKELY
TO BE LESS FLEXIBLE THAN OUR OWN. IT WILL BE DESIREABLE TO
MAINTAIN ACTIVE LEAISON WITH THE NON-SOVIET EASTERN DELEGATIONS
TO ENSURE THAT EACH OF THEM HAS A FULL OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS
NATIONAL VIEWS TO ALL THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN TIMELY
FASHION AND IN DENIED OPPORTUNITIES TO DISTORT OR DISRUPT THE
NEGOTIATIONS FOR PURELY NATIONAL PURPOSES. THE AD HOC GROUP
WILL CO-ORDINATE CONTACTS WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES TO ASSURE THAT
WESTERN VIEWS ARE CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED, AND WILL EXCHANGE
INFORMATION ON BILATERAL CONTACTS.

V. INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION

INTRODUCTION

61. THE CONSULTATIVE PROGRAMME ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL
ON 22ND NOVEMBER, 1972 HAS PROVED AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR INTRA-
ALLIANCE CONSULTATION DURING THE EXPLORATORY TALKS, AND THOSE
PARTS OF PO/72/413(REVISED) WHICH CONTINUE TO BE RELEVANT
REMAIN VALID FOR THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS. THIS SECTION IS
INTENDED TO PERFECT THESE ALLIANCE CONSULTATION ARRANGEMENTS
FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE IN
THE EXPLORATORY TALKS AND FURTHER DELIBERATION.
OBJECTIVE

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62. THE CONSULTATIVE PROGRAMME IS DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN ALLIED UNITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SECURITY OF EVERY ALLY AND TO THE SUCCESS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. ALLIED POSITIONS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE BEFORE THEY ARE PRESENTED TO THE AST, AND THERE MUST BE ONLY ONE ALLIED POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE EAST. TO ACHIEVE THIS AIM, PROCEDURES ADOPTED UNDER THE PROGRAMME MUST PROVIDE FOR FULL AND EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL VIEWS AND INTERESTS IN THE COURSE OF DEVELOPING OF UNIFIED ALLIANCE POSITIONS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT, IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE EASTERN SIDE WILL MAKE STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO DIVIDE THE ALLIANCE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT SUCH ATTEMPTS BE RESISTED. IT CANNOT REALISTICALLY BE EXPECTED THAT THE VIEWPOINT OF ALLIED COUNTRIES ON PARTICULAR QUESTIONS WILL NOT DIVERGE AT ANY POINT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT DIFFERENCES SHOULD BE SETTLED AROUND THE TABLE IN THE COUNCIL AND IN THE AD HOC GROUP, AS APPROPRIATE.

THE COUNCIL

63. THE COUNCIL IS THE PERMANENT SUPERVISORY POLICY BODY FOR THE ALLIES IN MBFR. IT SHOULD BE THE FORUM BOTH FOR CO-ORDINATING GENERAL NEGOTIATING POLICY AND FOR ENSURING THAT THE CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATION IS CONSISTENT WITH THIS GENERAL POLICY.

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OR

LE CONSEIL EST L'ORGANE DE DETERMINATION CONSTANTE
DE LA POLITIQUE A SUIVRE PAR L'ALLIANCE EN MATIERE DE MBFR

AND THE PERMANENT SUPERVISORY POLICY BODY OF THE ALLIANCE IN MBFR TO WHICH ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL ALSO REFER BACK WHENEVER A POLICY QUESTION ARISES ON WHICH THE COUNCIL HAS NOT AREADY TAKEN A DECISION, OR ANY OTHER MATTER WHICH MAY REQUIRE THE COUNCIL'S ATTENTION, SUCH AS MAJOR DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN THE AD HOC GROUP WHICH CANNOT EASILY BE RESELVED. IT IS IMPORTANT THE THE ALLIES SHOULD BE ABLE TO REFLECT TOGETHER IN A CALM ATMOSPHERE, FREE FROM LOCAL PRESSURES AND FREQUENT MEETINS, ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF PROPOSALS MADE BY THE EAST, ON PROPOSALS WHICH ALLIES INTED TO MAKE, AND ON OTHER IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE OR PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS WHICH MAY ARISE.

THE AD HOC GROUP

64. ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND ON GUIDANCE ON GENERAL POLICY AND GOALS PROVIDED BY THE COUNCIL, AND REMAINING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE COUNCIL, THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SPOT, MEETING IN THE AD HOC GROUP, WILL HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALLIED TACTICS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES.

ORGANIZATION OF THE AD HOC GROUP

65. ALL ALLIES WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AD HOC GROUP. THE HEADS OF ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN VIENNA OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES WILL CONSTITUTE THE AD HOC GROUP. THE SECRETARY GENERAL AS WELL AS NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL BE REPRESENTED IN THE AD HOC GROUP. ALL MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL PARTICIPATE ON AN EQUAL BASIS. THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL ROTATE WEEKLY IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER SO AS TO GIVE ALL ALLIES AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CHAIRMANSHIP. MEETINS OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL BE CONVENED BY THE CHAIRMAN AT THE REQUEST OF ANY HEAD OF A PARTICIPATING DELEGATION OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL ESTABLISH PROCEDURES FOR ITS OWN INTERNAL MEETINS.

DECISIONS WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP

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66. THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD ARRIVE AT ALL NECESSARY DECISIONS ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS IN A SPIRIT OF ALLIED SOLIDARITY. IT SHOULD ALLOW THE OPPORTUNITY FOR FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSION, FOR THE EXPRESSION OF ALL VIEWPOINTS, AND FOR FULL CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEMS ADDRESSED BY IT, TAKING THE NECESSARY TIME FOR IT.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE AD HOC GROUP

67. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL TRANSMIT GUIDANCE FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP THROUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AD HOC GROUP, AFTHET CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS, WILL SUBMIT IN HIS

NAME A REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON DEVELOPMENTS IN VIENNA DURING THE WEEK OF HIS TENURE. WHILE ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDER WAY IN VIENNA THE AD HOC GROUP WILL FREQUENTLY REPORT TO THE COUNCIL AT FIXED DATES, ENSURING REGULARITY OF REPORTING AND ENABLING ADVANCE PLANNING, I.E. ONCE EVERY TWO OR THREE WEEKS, AT A DATE CONVENIENT TO THE COUNCIL. THE REPORTING TEAM OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL BE HEADED BY THE AD HOC GROUP'S CHAIRMAN OF THE WEEK PRECEDING THE REPORTING DAY. HE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP ASSURING THAT IN EACH INSTANCE A FLANK REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE A MEMBER OF THE TEAM.

SPECIAL REPORTS BY THE AD HOC GROUP TO THE COUNCIL

68. (I) INCASES OF MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE AD HOC GROUP WILL MAKE A SPECIAL JOINT REPORT TO THE COUNCIL, TO BE PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL IN PERSON BY THE CHAIRMAN, AND TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP AS IN PARAGRAPH 67 ABOVE, ANALYSING THE DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS AND, IF POSSIBLE, SETTING FORTH A RECOMMENDED APPROACH.

(II) WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF COUNCIL GUIDANCE, THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESOLVING DIVERGENCIES OF OPINION AMONG ITS MEMBERS WITH REGARD TO BOTH SUBSTANTIVE OR PROCEDURAL ISSUES. ALLIED SOLIDARITY REQUIRED THAT EVERY ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO FIND RAPID AND USABLE COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS. IN MAJOR
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MATTERS WHERE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CANNOT EASILY BE RESOLVED, NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE ON THIS TOPIC MAY BE SUSPENDED, NORMALLY FOR NO MORE THAN A WEEK. IN CASES WHERE IT DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS TO DIFFENCES OF OPINION WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP IN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME. THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE COUNCIL, IN SUCH CASES, THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL JOINT REPORT TO THE COUNCIL AND TO GOVERNMENTS, TO BE PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL IN PERSON BY THE CHAIRMAN ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OTHER MEMBERS, SETTING FORTH THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE ALTERNATIVE VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF GROUP MEMBERS.

(III) IN CASES REQUIRING FORMULATION OF FURTHER GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP, THE COUNCIL WILL ORGANIZE ITS WORK IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE ABLE TO MAKE ITS VIEWS KNOWN EXPEDITIOUSLY. END TEXT
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